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PAGE 01 OF 03 BEIJIN 16846 00 OF 05 220152Z 2126 EAP3735  
ACTION EAP-08

BEIJIN 16846 00 OF 05 220152Z 2126 EAP3735

ACTION OFFICE CH-05  
INFO 1-05 TC-01 P-01 RA-01 LAB-01 UN-01 EAP-05 /020 A3 DDX

INFO LOG-08 ADS-08 INR-07 EUR-08 SS-08 OIC-02 CIAE-08  
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TRSE-08 PM-18 AIT-02 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-08 CA-02  
SP-02 SGP-01 PRS-01 DS-08 P-02 T-01 /065 V

0 220152Z JUN 89 ZFF4  
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC INACT IMMEDIATE 1411  
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0551  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
FMEMBASSY BANGKOK 042Z  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE  
AIT TAIPEI IMMEDIATE  
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL SHENYANG IMMEDIATE  
DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CHENGDU POUCH

FILE

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NSC FOR DOUG PAUL

CINCPAC FOR FPA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PCOV, PHUM, SOCI, CN  
SUBJECT: WHAT HAPPENED ON THE NIGHT OF JUNE 3/47

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. (C) INTRODUCTION:

ACCORDING TO  
OFFICIAL PRESS REPORTS, PLA TROOPS AND SECURITY  
FORCES EMPLOYED MAXIMUM RESTRAINT IN MOVING INTO THE  
CITY CENTER, ONLY FIRING WHEN THREATENED BY GROUPS OF  
VIOLENT "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES." OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS  
NATURALLY STRESS THE VIOLENCE WITH WHICH GROUPS OF  
CITIZENS ATTACKED AND/OR KILLED SOLDIERS.

3. (C) IN THE FOLLOWING NARRATIVE AND CHRONOLOGY,  
THE EMBASSY ATTEMPTS TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT. OUR  
NARRATIVE IS BASED ON EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF ENBOFFS,  
WESTERN DIPLOMATS, WESTERN REPORTERS AND AMERICAN  
STUDENTS PRESENT ON OR NEAR TIANANMEN SQUARE, AND ON  
CREDIBLE SECOND HAND INFORMATION. WE CONCLUDE THAT,  
CONTRARY TO A NUMBER OF EARLY WESTERN PRESS ACCOUNTS,  
THE MASSACRE TOOK PLACE ON CHANGAN AVENUE AND OTHER  
OF BEIJING'S MAIN THOROUGHFARES RATHER THAN IN  
TIANANMEN SQUARE ITSELF. MANY -- IF NOT MOST -- OF  
THE DEATHS OCCURRED AS THE MILITARY MOVED TOWARD THE

SQUARE FROM THE WEST.

4. THE PLA DID NOT FIRE DIRECTLY ON STUDENTS  
GATHERED AROUND THE MARTYRS MONUMENT ON TIANANMEN  
SQUARE. TROOPS BEAT, AND PROBABLY KILLED SOME  
STUDENTS AFTER THEY EXITED THE SQUARE, HOWEVER.  
OTHER STUDENTS WHO FACED OFF TROOPS IN THE STREETS  
AROUND THE SQUARE WERE SHOT. MANY MEMBERS OF THE  
CROWDS ATTEMPTING TO SLOW THE PLA ADVANCE THREW  
BRICKS AND STONES AT SOLDIERS AND BEAT AND/OR KILLED  
A NUMBER OF THEM. BUT GIVEN THE PREPONDERANCE OF  
FORCE ON THE MILITARY SIDE, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT  
MILITARY CASUALTIES EXCEEDED THOSE ON THE CIVILIAN  
SIDE. CIVILIAN DEATHS PROBABLY DID NOT REACH THE  
FIGURE OF 3,000 USED IN SOME PRESS ACCOUNTS, BUT THEY  
SURELY FAR OUTNUMBERED OFFICIAL FIGURES.

5. IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT WHATEVER THE  
CASUALTY FIGURES, WHATEVER THE OCCUPATION OF THE  
CIVILIANS WHO WERE KILLED, AND HOWEVER VIOLENT SOME  
MEMBERS OF THE CROWD MAY HAVE BECOME, THE ORDER TO  
MOVE HEAVILY ARMED TROOPS ON TIANANMEN WAS CYNICAL  
AND INHUMAN.

END INTRODUCTION.

6. (C) PRECIS OF EVENTS: THE MAIN MILITARY THRUST  
THAT NIGHT CAME FROM THE WEST. LARGE CROWDS ENGAGED  
IN PITCHED BATTLES WITH ARMED TROOPS AND ARMORED  
COLUMNS AT MAJOR INTERSECTIONS ALONG FUXING AND  
CHANGAN AVENUES. THESE CLASHES LED TO HIGH CIVILIAN  
CASUALTIES AS TROOPS FIRED DIRECTLY AT BEIJING  
CITIZENS.

7. (C) SOLDIERS IN AN ARMORED COLUMN OF TANKS AND  
APCs THAT ENTERED TIANANMEN FROM THE EAST AFTER  
(08) JUNE 4 ALSO FIRED INDISCRIMINATELY AT  
CROWDS ALONG THE ROUTE.  
8. BATTLES BETWEEN TROOPS AND  
CITIZENS ALSO APPARENTLY TOOK PLACE SOUTH OF  
TIANANMEN SQUARE, PROBABLY AT THE CHONGWENMEN  
INTERSECTIONS AND ALONG QIANMEN AVENUE. WE HAVE ALSO  
HEARD OF HEAVY FIGHTING IN THE DAZHALAN DISTRICT,  
JUST SOUTH OF QIANMEN. WE HAVE NO WESTERN EYEWITNESS  
ACCOUNTS OF THE EVENTS AT CHONGWENMEN, QIANMEN  
AVENUE, AND DAZHALAN, HOWEVER.

9. (C) CASUALTIES ALSO OCCURRED IN THE TIANANMEN  
AREA AFTER TROOPS AND ARMOR ARRIVED CT T/YE NORTH END  
OF THE SQUARE SOMETIME BETWEEN 0133 AND 0200,  
JUNE 4. HERE, CROWDS ON CHANGAN AVENUE ON THE  
NORTHEAST SIDE OF THE SQUARE FACED OFF TROOPS WHO HAD  
ENTERED FROM THE NORTHWEST. TROOPS FIRED DIRECTLY AT  
THIS CROWD THROUGHOUT THE MORNING BETWEEN TIANANMEN  
SQUARE AND THE BEIJING HOTEL.

10. (C) THE BATTLES RAGED AROUND THE SQUARE RATHER  
THAN ON IT. WITNESSES PRESENT AT THE MARTYRS  
MONUMENT DESCRIBE AN EERIE LACK OF ACTION ON THE  
SQUARE PROPER DURING THE SHOOTING IN THE STREETS. WE  
HAVE HEARD NO ACCOUNTS OF SOLDIERS FIRING DIRECTLY AT  
STUDENTS CROWDED AROUND THE MARTYRS MONUMENT ON THE  
SQUARE. EYEWITNESSES ALSO STATE THAT, AS FAR AS THEY  
COULD TELL, NO STUDENTS WERE PRESENT IN THE TENTS

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PAGE 02 OF 03 BEIJING 16846 00 OF 05 220152Z  
WHICH APC'S ROLLED OVER AS THEY ENTERED THE SQUARE  
PROPER BEFORE SUN RISE ON JUNE 4. THE SEVERAL  
THOUSAND STUDENTS WHO REMAINED AT THE MONUMENT  
DEPARTED THE SQUARE VIA THE SOUTHEAST CORNER  
BEGINNING AT ABOUT 0500, JUNE 4.

2126 EAP3735

BEIJING 16846 00 OF 05 220152Z

2126 EAP3735

CONFERENCE, YUAN MU CLAIMED THAT AS OF THAT DAY, ONLY  
23 BEIJING STUDENTS HAD DIED AS A RESULT OF THE  
MILITARY MOVEMENT ON THE CITY'S CENTER. HE SAID THAT  
THIS FIGURE RESULTED FROM INVESTIGATIONS AT LOCAL  
UNIVERSITIES. WESTERN JOURNALISTS WHO HAVE VISITED  
MAJOR BEIJING CAMPUSES HAVE FOUND THAT STUDENT  
SOURCES CAN CONFIRM BY NAME THE DEATHS OF ONLY 3-10  
STUDENTS AT EACH OF SEVERAL MAJOR UNIVERSITIES, BUT A  
WESTERN ACADEMIC WAS TOLD BY PROFESSORS THAT A LARGER  
NUMBER OF STUDENTS ARE STILL UNACCOUNTED FOR (E.G.,  
17 EACH AT BEIJING AND GIBERTI UNIVERSITIES). THE  
MILITARY COUNCIL HAS RELEASED NO FIGURES ON THE DEATHS  
OF STUDENTS WHO FROM UNIVERSITIES OUTSIDE THE  
CAPITAL. THE NON-BEIJING STUDENTS FORMED THE  
MAJORITY OF STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS IN THE SQUARE  
ITSELF BY JUNE 3.

16. (U) BELOW IS A CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS OF THE  
NIGHT OF JUNE 3/4. BEGIN CHRONOLOGY:

JUNE 3

1500 LARGE CROWDS OF BEIJING CITIZENS AROUND  
- TIANANMEN SQUARE; SEVERAL THOUSAND UNARMED  
- PLA TROOPS HEAVY IN BY CROWDS AT WEST GATE  
- OF GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE (GROP)  
1600 VIOLENCE FLARES AT XINBUANEN (OUTH  
- ENTRANCE TO ZHONGNANHAI) AS TROOPS GUARDING  
- GATE FIRE INTO AIR AND BEAT SOME  
- DEMONSTRATORS WITH BELTS  
1800 PLA TROOPS FIRE ON CROWD SURROUNDING TROOP  
- TRUCKS AT MUXIDI, NEAR FUXINGMEN; NUMBER  
- OF CASUALTIES UNKNOWN  
2000 CROWDS ENCIRCLE CONVOY OF 10-20 TRUCKS

OUR BAO BELIEVES THAT THIS IS NOT AN UNREASONABLE  
ESTIMATE, GIVEN THE NATURE OF THE CONFLICT AND THE  
WEAPONS USED BY THE PLA.

13. (U) OFFICIAL CASUALTY STATISTICS DIFFER MARKEDLY  
FROM THIS, BUT THEY ARE CONTRADICTORY. AT A JUNE 7  
PRESS CONFERENCE, STATE COUNCIL SPOKESMAN YUAN MU  
STATED THAT TOTAL DEATHS OF TROOPS AND CIVILIANS  
NUMBERED "AROUND 300 PEOPLE." ACCORDING TO YUAN,  
"OVER 5,000 TROOPS" SUFFERED INJURIES, WITH "OVER  
2,000" CIVILIANS INJURED. HOWEVER, A JUNE 14 XINHUA  
RELEASE REPORTED THAT "NEARLY 100 SOLDIERS AND  
POLICEMEN (44) AND THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS AND  
POLICEMEN WERE WOUNDED." "SOME 100 CIVILIANS WERE  
KILLED AND NEARLY 1,000 WERE INJURED," ACCORDING TO  
XINHUA.

14. BEIJING HOSPITALS HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO DISCUSS  
CASUALTY FIGURES. ENBOFFS VISITING THREE HOSPITALS  
ON THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 4 WITNESSED OR WERE TOLD OF  
A TOTAL OF 80 CIVILIAN DEAD AT THESE THREE HOSPITALS  
ALONE. AMONG THE DEAD WERE WOMEN AND AT LEAST ONE  
CHILD. A WESTERN JOURNALIST WHO VISITED SEVEN  
HOSPITALS BETWEEN JUNE 4 AND JUNE 7, INCLUDING THOSE  
VISITED BY ENBOFFS, WAS TOLD OF 156 CIVILIAN DEATHS  
AT THESE HOSPITALS. THESE FIGURES ARE NECESSARILY  
LOW, GIVEN OUR INABILITY TO VISIT HOSPITALS  
SYSTEMATICALLY.

15. (U) STUDENT DEATHS: AT HIS JUNE 7 PRESS

- BEARING ARMED TROOPS AT JIANGUCHEN AND  
- AND THIRD RING ROAD, THIS SCENE REPEATED  
- ON MAJOR INTERSECTIONS SURROUNDING CITY  
2030 TROOPS AT WEST GATE OF GROP RETREAT INSIDE  
2200 TROOPS ON TRUCKS AT YANJING HOTEL, BETWEEN  
- MUXIDI AND FUXINGMEN, FIRE ON CROWDS IN  
- STREET, CASUALTIES UNKNOWN  
2300 ARMED PLA TROOPS IN TRUCKS SURROUNDED BY  
- CROWDS IN FRONT OF BEIJING HOTEL  
JUNE 4  
0900 BUS BLOCKADE AT FUXINGMEN BURNED, PLA FIRES  
- ON CROWDS, COLUMN OF APC'S APPROACHES  
- FUXINGMEN, AT LEAST 30 CASUALTIES REPORTED  
- REPORTED AT OHIS SITE  
- POLICE OR TROOPS IN RIOT GEAR WITH SHIELDS  
- ENGAGE IN PITCHED BATTLE WITH CROWD OF OVER  
- 10,000 PEOPLE IN FRONT OF MINZU HOTEL;  
- CROWD COMPOSED OF PEOPLE OF ALL AGES AND  
- SEXES; THEY JEER AT RIOT POLICE, SOME  
- THROW BRICKS AND STONES, RIOT POLICE  
- RESPOND WITH SMALL ARMS FIRE ABOVE CROWD  
- AND TEAR GAS

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S/S-0  
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PAGE 03 OF 03 BEIJIN 16846 00 OF 05 220152Z 2126

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- SEXES; THEY JEER AT RIOT POLICE, SOME  
- THROW BRICKS AND STONES, RIOT POLICE  
- RESPOND WITH SMALL ARMS FIRE ABOVE CROWD  
- AND TEAR GAS  
/

- CROWD DISPERSES AS INFANTRY LINE AVENUE TO  
- SECURE LANE FOR APPROACHING APC'S; MEMBERS  
- OF CROWD STILL LINGERING AVENUE THROW ROCKS  
- AND FIRE BOMBS, INFANTRY RESPONDS WITH  
- DIRECT FIRE; CASUALTIES WITNESSED, BUT  
- NUMBERS UNKNOWN  
/

0804- FIRST TWO APC'S ENTER VICINITY OF TIANANMEN  
0830 SQUARE  
/

0100 DEMONSTRATORS SET AFIRE ONE APC NORTH OF  
- SQUARE ON CHANGAN AVENUE; FIRST OFFICIAL  
- WARNINGS TO LEAVE SQUARE BROADCAST OVER  
- TIANANMEN PA SYSTEM; COLUMN OF APC'S  
- FROM WEST PASSES ZHONGNANhai  
/

0150 INFANTRY HEADING FOR SQUARE PASSES NORTH  
- GATE OF GHOP, FIRES DIRECTLY ON LARGE CROWD  
- GATHERED ON CHANGAN AVENUE NORTH OF SQUARE;  
- CROWD RETREATS EAST, MANY CASUALTIES  
- REPORTED, BUT NUMBERS UNKNOWN  
/

0700 MAJORITY OF STUDENTS REMAINING AT SQUARE  
- GATHER AT BASE OF MARTYRS MONUMENT, ENVOFF  
- ESTIMATES THEIR NUMBER AT 5,000; RELIABLE  
- WESTERN DIPLOMAT WITNESSES "MANY"  
- DEMONSTRATORS WITH SEVERE HEAD AND CHEST  
- WOUNDS CARRIED OFF CHANGAN AVENUE  
/

0210 "SUICIDE BUS" HEADS WEST ON CHANGAN FOR  
- APPROACHING ARMOR COLUMN  
/

0300 STUDENTS REQUEST NEGOTIATIONS WITH PLA;  
- ARMED INFANTRY ENTERS SQUARE FROM SOUTHWEST  
- TO ENTER GHOP; THEY ARE JEERED BY  
- CROWDS  
/

0330- STUDENTS VOTE TO LEAVE SQUARE  
/

0430  
/

0400 SEVERAL THOUSAND ARMED PLA TROOPS APPEAR ON  
- EAST STEPS OF GHOP, THEIR BAYONETS  
- FIXED; PLA OR PEOPLE'S ARMED POLICE UNITS  
- ALSO APPEAR ON STEPS OF HISTORY MUSEUM  
- ARMED WITH TRUNCHEONS  
/

- LIGHTS OUT ON TIANANMEN SQUARE  
/

0430- APC'S THAT ENTERED FROM THE WEST NOW LINED  
0445 UP AT THE GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE FACING  
- SOUTH; THEY BEGIN TO MOVE INTO THE SQUARE  
- PROPER, RUNNING OVER STUDENT TENTS  
/

- SOUND OF HEAVY FIRE REPORTED FROM SOUTHEAST  
- OF SQUARE; COULD HAVE COME FROM  
- CHONGWENMEN AREA, WHERE HEAVY FIGHTING AND  
- MANY CASUALTIES WERE LATER REPORTED  
/

0420 LIGHTS ON IN SQUARE  
/

0430 TROOPS OR POLICE IN RIOT GEAR APPEAR WITHIN  
- GROUNDS OF MAO MAUSOLEUM, SOUTH OF MONUMENT

PAGE 01 BEIJIN 16846 00 OF 05 220152Z 2126

SS08493

/ 0500- STUDENTS BEGIN TO LEAVE MONUMENT FOR  
0510 SOUTHEAST END OF SQUARE AND EXIT FROM THERE  
- ONTO QIANMEN AVENUE; SOME MOVE EAST, OTHERS  
- WEST  
/

0500 TANKS ENTER TIANANMEN SQUARE FROM SOUTH  
/

0510 "GODDESS OF LIBERTY" STATUE IS DOWN  
/

0545 ARMORED COLUMN OF 8 TANKS, 25 APC'S, AND  
- MANY TROOP TRUCKS ENTERS TIANANMEN FROM THE  
- EAST; ELEMENTS OF THIS COLUMN FIRE HEAVILY  
- AND INDISCRIMINATELY AT CROWDS GATHERED  
- ALONG CHANGAN AVENUE  
/

0600 LAST STUDENTS DEPART SQUARE, SOME BEATEN BY  
- TROOPS IN RIOT GEAR  
/

0620 ANOTHER ARMORED COLUMN ENTERS TIANANMEN  
- FROM THE EAST; ITS TROOPS ALSO FIRE  
- INDISCRIMINATELY AT CROWDS  
/

0650 APPROXIMATELY 35 TANKS ENTER SQUARE  
/

1025- FOUR SEPARATE INCIDENTS OF INDISCRIMINATE  
1210 FIRE ON CROWDS IN FRONT OF BEIJING HOTEL;  
- AT LEAST 50 CIVILIAN CASUALTIES  
/

END CHRONOLOGY.  
/

17. NOTE: SPORADIC KILLING CONTINUED AT LEAST  
THROUGH WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6. WE HAVE HEARD NUMEROUS  
FIRST AND SECOND-HAND REPORTS OF SOLDIERS FIRING ON  
GROUPS OF STUDENTS AND OTHER CITIZENS WHO EXPRESSED  
OPPOSITION TO THE CRACKDOWN. LILLEY

NOTE: (00) OMISSION PARA. 7 AND 13, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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